UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY SUPPLEMENT

The Intercollegiate Socialist

Golgotha, A Poem
By ROSE PASTOR STOKES

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Union Theological Seminary Supplement

Book Reviews

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The Intercollegiate Socialist

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

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The object of the INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY, established September 1905, is "to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women." All present or former students of colleges interested in Socialism are eligible to active membership in the Society. Non-collegians are eligible to auxiliary membership. The annual dues of the Society are $2, $5 (contributing membership), $25 or more (sustaining membership.) The dues of student members-at-large are $1 a year. Undergraduate Chapters are required to pay 25c. a year per member to the General Society. All members are entitled to receive The Intercollegiate Socialist. Friends may assist in the work of the Society by becoming dues-paying members, by sending contributions, by aiding in the organization and the strengthening of undergraduate and graduate Chapters, by obtaining subscriptions for The Intercollegiate Socialist, by patronizing advertisers, and in various other ways. The Society's Bi-monthly is 25c. a year, 10c. a copy, 15 copies for $1.

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THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST

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JOHN R. HAYES

DIED MARCH 24, 1915

Those members of the Society who are accustomed to visit the office will share the very real sense of loss which comes to the office force, in the death of their fellow-worker, John R. Hayes.

Hopelessly crippled in body, the mind of John Hayes was clear and free. He worked steadily and gladly through days when pain held him but could not hinder him; and his courage and pluck were a lesson to all who watched him, during four years of a losing fight.

His brave soul has gone on; his brave spirit lives as an inspiration in the office of The Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

That "Little Magazine"

John Reed reports that when he attempted, a few months ago, to obtain from Dr. Carl Liebknecht an interview for publication in a well-known American periodical, the famous German Socialist informed him that the only periodical in this country of whose existence he was aware was that "little magazine, *The Intercollegiate Socialist.*"

We are glad to inform the doctor and others that, through the ready response of the members and friends of the Society, and particularly through the assistance of our friends the authors, we have been enabled to publish the April-May issue.

We sincerely trust that those who have sent us subscriptions this Spring will continue their good work, and that those who have not as yet responded will send us a batch of "subs" forthwith. If each reader of the Magazine obtains five new subscribers for us during this season, our future will be assured for some time to come. We also urge all to remember our advertisers. Your continued cooperation at this juncture is an imperative necessity.

Ten Years Old

Before the next issue of this magazine goes to press, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society will have celebrated its tenth anniversary. It was on September 12, 1905, that Upton Sinclair, Robert Hunter, Owen R. Lovejoy, Mrs. Katherine Maltby Meserole, George H. Strobell, Morris Hillquit, and some fifty others, including the writer, gathered in a small room above Peck's restaurant in Fulton Street, New York, and solemnly dedicated the Society to its work of education.

At that time many declared it chimerical to attempt to interest any large body of collegians in such a fundamental problem as that of Socialism. And truly the college field seemed none too promising! Scarcely a group for the study of Socialism could be found in any institution of higher learning. The number of college professors devoting any considerable time to this subject might be counted on the fingers of one hand. Public or class room lectures on Socialism by outside speakers were well-nigh unheard of, while addresses along this line in college chapels were too horrifying even to contemplate.

Furthermore literature on this subject was scant, for, with the exception of

Morris Hillquit's "History of Socialism in the United States," practically no book, written by an American Socialist and bearing directly on Socialism had as yet appeared in the lists of non-Socialist publishers—unless we consider such keen analyses of present conditions as were contained in the "Cost of Competition," "Poverty" and "Our Benevolent Feudalism."

Ten years have wrought marked changes. Over three score of colleges now contain I. S. S. Chapters; hundreds of lectures on this subject are given every season before tens of thousands of collegians; scores of courses on Socialism are contained in college curricula, while publishers vie with one another to obtain for their lists standard books on Socialism.

The Society wishes to congratulate the educated men and women of America on the progress they have already made in their approach to social solutions, even though realizing that that progress is due chiefly to the patient, self-sacrificing efforts of thousands of "Jimmy Higginses," who have forced the issue to the front.

This final year of the first decade in the Society's life has, in many respects, been the most fruitful season of all, despite many economic obstacles. More extensive lecture tours have been organized and a greater number of lectures have been delivered under the auspices of college bodies and college departments than ever before. The writer alone spoke during the last five months before more than 10,000 college men and women in over 50 universities, over 50 of the lectures being given before economics and sociology classes. Many new Chapters, including Vassar, Oberlin, Minnesota, Albion, Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Howard, Amherst, Bates, Bowdoin, Hamilton, Carnegie Institute of Technology, N. Y. University School of Commerce, N. Y. Law, Northwestern and Fargo Agricultural have furthermore been added to the Society's list. The Vassar students, who this spring for the first time have been given the privilege of forming an I. S. S. Chapter, have one of the strongest of these groups, having organized with a paid-up membership of 86. Other features of the Society's work have been the organization of the Research Bureau, the vigorous activity of the New England Committee, and the beginning of a sectional committee in the Middle West.

H. W. L.

Our Counting Room

To Members of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society:

In making a special contribution to the work of the Society, a member suggests that this issue of *The Intercollegiate Socialist* should contain a statement of the Society's financial needs. It seems fitting that such a statement should appear in this issue, which was made possible only by special contributions, special subscriptions and special advertisements of those who were unwilling that, for lack of funds, an issue of the magazine should be omitted. Our financial needs have been so acute this winter that the meetings of the Executive Committee have been partly given over to discussions of economies so stringent as to imperil the efficiency of our work. It has seemed that, just as we are beginning to realize in large measure that for which the Society was formed, we must curtail our efforts for the lack of a few hundred dollars more of income. The interest in the study of Socialism in the colleges has grown by leaps and bounds, but the increase in finances has not kept pace. We have made good all along the line, and we have also been "efficient"—for, in the last fiscal year just closing, we have accomplished at least one-third more of work with little or no additional expense. The time has now come, however, when we must have more money or turn the back upon the very opportunities for which

we have striven. Our Organizing Secretary, Mr. Laidler, and other organizers no longer have to "go in at the back door" of the colleges, for a hearing—they are now freely welcomed in college class rooms and given all possible opportunity to reach the student body. And they are wanted all over the country.

Is not this what our Society was founded to do? And is it not hard that we should lack funds to grasp these splendid opportunities?

Though the increased and successful work of 1913-14 was done at an expenditure of only $400 more than that of 1912-13, and though, as has been said, this present year's greatly increased work has been done with such economy, we must have for the college year of 1915-16 more money or be forced to take a backward step.

One contributor has offered to be one of ten to give $60 to make a fund for sending organizers into the colleges and another member offers to be one of 100 to give $5. An appeal sent out in January and February to 240 members of the Society who have made special contributions during the last three years, has brought in several special contributions. But we lack now at least $700 more in special contributions to be on the safe side for next year's work. The Society was never more worthy of your support.

(Sgd) THE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

(Continued on page 8)

Golgotha

ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

Over the sound-bodied soon to writhe;
Over the writhing soon to lie still;
Over the still soon to move with maggots;
Over those moving with maggots soon to dance in the trenches;
Over those dizzy in the trenches soon to die of the fever;
Over the carrion crow and the broken wings of a white bird;
Over the trench-scarred fields and the long-fought ground that is man-scarred;
Over the whole—the terrible whole that we fashioned out of our blindness—
Looms a mighty cross with the Son of Man upon it.
His feet are pierced and His hands are pierced,
And from a mighty wound in His side
Gushes blood;
Rivers and rivers and rivers of blood.
It fills and o'erruns the trenches,
And creeps up over the land and trickles its way to the ocean,
While, in the agony of His two-thousand-years-long death
And in a voice that breaks with sobs from a million breasts, He cries:
"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Some Signs of Hope

By Vida D. Scudder.

Some of us feel more like keeping still than like talking in this astounding year, which blasts so many hopes and destroys so many illusions. Silence, reflection, prayer, rather than loquacity, seem called for. Still, among comrades it should be comforting to think aloud, though the thoughts be feeble. And the best thoughts to share are those which fortify.

Such are not lacking, whether we look at the whole energy of mind educed by the war, or at our own movement. Out of the first, we see crystallizing detailed and penetrating programs of constructive peace much more to the point than the complacent platitudes current a year or two ago; and we dare to hope that these may be earnest of a better future. But how about Socialism? What is the situation in which it finds itself? Are there any elements of hope for those who still cling to the faith that despite its apparent collapse as an international force, it holds the best promise we have for a permanent world-harmony?

Everyone knows that not since its inception has Socialism had so tragic a set-back as in this last year. The old political alignments which many had thought obsolescent, triumphed so completely that the movement for proletarian solidarity was swept aside as mere doctrinaire triviality. It was a staggering blow. But as we rally from it, surely we begin to see that Socialist thought and action have never had an opportunity so great as that which probably opens to them in the immediate future. For as peace returns, the attitude of the community at large toward Socialism should in all logic be exactly reversed.

Before the war, temperamental conservatism and timid shrinking of privilege from dislocation, focussed themselves in opposition to the Socialist creed. Socialism was the arch-enemy of civilization. Perhaps, in the stormy dawn of the new epoch, it may be recognized as civilization's strongest friend. In Chesterton's queer story, "The Man Who Was Thursday," "Sunday" figures at first as the leader of the awful anarchists. In the end, we find that he is chief of the secret police that defend the Law. Just so, Socialism, which has been denounced as the Destroyer, may soon be hailed as the Savior of society: which is what Socialists have all along believed it to be.

Destroyer of civilization, indeed? Why, civilization is pretty well destroyed. But Socialism didn't do it; the forces which Socialism has been fighting clear-eyed and all but single-handed are what have done it: the militarism with which Germany is hag-ridden, the commercialism, more hidden, more deadly, which broods like a curse over England. These, which Socialism has opposed with as much energy as Christianity and with more assured and intellectual conviction, are the elements which have precipitated a world-calamity; why should not the one power which has steadily denounced, analyzed, and withstood these divisive evils, be evoked as leader against them in the reconstruction to come?

There is another reason why society may recover from its fear of Socialism. It has come to perceive that Socialists are just like other people. This cause for our hope springs from a bitter disappointment. Many, including the writer, suffered cruelly when the action of the German Socialists in voting war-credits and taxes—not only last August

but earlier, in 1912—showed that international ideals snapped like cords at the touch of patriotic fear. But at least, this action, and the subsequent attitude of many Socialists in other countries, has shown everyone that the nations can trust their Socialists: they will be citizens first and Socialists after. There is a sardonic aspect to this fact; there is also a reassuring aspect. At least it points this moral: your Socialist is no logic-chopper, set apart from the rich confused organic life of his race, but a man who shares the right and wrong impulses of his countrymen, all their provincialisms, if you will, all their delusions. Such men are much more likely to win the confidence of their fellows than is a more advanced type; and after all they are the sort of instruments which history has found most useful, rather than the closet philosophers who hold to an absolute ideal. The grievous revelation of the summer may not be wholly cause for regret. We can afford it, if it proves to the world that the men who alone have been trained in organized and thought-out opposition to the forces which created war, can be trusted with leadership in the bewildering days which await us, with no fear lest they toss away or violate the elder sanctities to which the race still clings. During the present stress, a surprising number of Socialists have already come to the front in politics. The reconstruction, when stress will be hardly less, will in all probability see a great many more. Within a generation, they may hold the balance of power in every cabinet and every parliament of Europe.

All things considered, it seems that Socialists are likely to get a bigger chance in the future than they have ever had yet. Now are they likely to deserve it?

I think so. The war, stern surgeon who is searching nations and theories to the quick, is teaching us various lessons which we needed.

It has shown us, for instance, the vitality in public life of the more spiritual forces. Economic determinism contains very important elements of truth; it teaches rightly that economic factors are a basic power in determining social advance. This is a great lesson, but it has been pressed too far. Socialist cant is no better than any other cant, and we have been a good deal victimized by it. Here comes along a world-war in which economic factors are neither the obvious cause nor the chief nerve. Many economic considerations indeed militated against it; England for instance was profiting largely by her German trade. The nations pour out their wealth with spendthrift haste, they mortgage the future regardless of prudence. Why? That one or another may gain economic supremacy? Such motives are doubtless obscurely at work in the brains of statesmen; nobody supposes them to be at work in the heart of the man in the trench. He fights doggedly for reasons in which economics play no part at all:

"I gave my life for freedom—this I know,
For those who bade me fight all told me so"—

say German, Russian, Frenchman, and the rest. If the mass of Englishmen had not believed, rightly or wrongly, that big Germany had hit little Belgium in a mean way, the war could not have lasted a week. Mazzini said long ago—and some of us found it a disconcerting remark—that republicanism was higher than Socialism, because political ideals were more disinterested than economic. A republic aimed first at freedom, a Socialist state first at welfare. The remark seems suggestive as we see men by the thousands dying for ends in which the economic aim is at best merely implicit.

After the war, a better type of Socialism may emerge; more elastic, less materialized — above all, less formula-ridden. Is it a dream, or is there some-

where, in literature or life, an Eastern monarch attended by a functionary entitled *The Destroyer of Formulae?* Such a functionary would prove useful almost anywhere. Socialism stands particularly in need of him, for its highly intellectual quality, its constant appeal to logic and reason, make it a peculiarly apt formula-breeder.

But for that matter, any formula becomes inimical to life the minute one tries to cover all truth with it; truth is so immeasurably broader than formulae! Now the war is a first-rate Destroyer of Formulae, and it is not only within the Socialist schools that it is carrying out its stern function. Everywhere, old traditions, sacred conventions, burn round us like tinder. The obstinate terror of change as change is going up in smoke. If a richer and freer type of Socialism is in the making, veiled by the terror of the year, we have good reason to hope that a temper is preparing ready, on positive as well as negative lines, to welcome drastic revolution, provided that such be needed to establish harmony at the roots of things. The essentially and vitally constructive power of Socialism, to which its destructive instincts are merely incidental, will shine forth as never before, and the world will rally to its light. Think what the new age may witness in Belgium, where such great Socialist minds were at work before the war, where co-operative popular centres flourished as nowhere else in Europe!

Welfare and freedom! Mazzini was not the last to contrast them. People are saying that in this war, the fight is "on" between them: that Germany stands for the first, and England—Marx's "classic land of capitalism"—for the other. Socialists believe that the time will come when the two need not fight any longer. When the war is over, we shall all probably be poor together and perhaps that will be very good for our souls. We shall not stay poor: the resources of the race are too great for that. But let us pray fiercely, let us resolve passionately, that as we build up once more the wealth of the piteous shattered world, it may be a Commonwealth at which we aim. A state without special privilege; one where all public life shall be beautiful and rich, all private life content in the liberty born of simplicity and self-restraint. In that day, it may be that each race will have learned the wisdom of the other; and that the union of welfare and freedom, in which even Mazzini failed wholly to believe, may be realized at last.

Yes! Socialists have their work to do, their opportunity to embrace, as the war draws to a close. May they be ready for their hour!

(Continued from page 5)

Research Work Several students have volunteered their services to the I. S. S. Research Bureau for from one to two months during the summer vacation. The Bureau intends to investigate, among other things, certain important phases of municipal, state and national collectivism in America. The results of the studies will be published next season by the Society. We will be glad to secure the names of all who might find it possible to assist in this work.

Send Reports Every year many members of I. S. S. Chapters leave college without electing officers for the ensuing year or without reporting their year's work and future prospects to the Society. This neglect often greatly handicaps the Society's work the ensuing year. Ergo—.

Summer Schools We wish to urge members of undergraduate and alumni Chapters to make a special effort this summer to

schedule lectures on Socialism before summer schools in their respective communities. These schools are attended by many thousands of students keenly interested in fundamental social problems and present a most fertile field for the Society's educational work. The office will co-operate in securing speakers to the best of its ability.

The Society has thus far been unable to find a satisfactory location for the proposed I. S. S. Summer Schools. Further suggestions will be appreciated.

Immigration and Socialism

By Florence Kelley

Immigration as we know it is merely the contemporary phase of the world-old migration of the race. To the founders of modern Socialism that migration presented itself in the form of effort of rural workers, bound to the soil of a particular area in Russia, Germany and Austria, and striving to get free, to start thence and go whither they would. Their difficulty was in starting. The possibility of their being unwelcome on arriving was, in those early days, in the mind of no one but Friedrich Engels. In his book on "The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1842" he describes the lowering effect upon the standard of living of English working people in Manchester and Liverpool exercised by the influx of Irish immigrants. There only, in a few English cities, was capitalist industry sufficiently developed to exhibit at that time a phenomenon now become worldwide—the pressure of immigration upon the standard of life in the country peacefully invaded.

Socialists everywhere are committed to the principle that, in general, migration is to be dealt with according to the good of the wage-earners. In America, however, the question long since arose, Which wage-earners? Those already here, or those now elsewhere and desiring to come hither? Or can the interests of both sets be reconciled?

We are confronted by a situation not a theory. Three Presidents have refused to sign bills designed to restrict immigration, and Congress has passed no bill over their vetoes. At the close of the war the immigration will presumably be greater than ever, and the conflict of interest between the earlier and the later comers correspondingly sharper.

The immediate task of the Socialist appears, therefore, to be the practical one of absorbing, to the uttermost degree possible, the newcomers immediately on their arrival, into organizations for the protection of all.

In New York City and in less degree in all other ports of disembarkation, we need Socialist co-operative associations of men and women, commanding all the languages read or spoken by the newcomers, to gather them in on landing, as the exploiters now do. Many immigrants could be immediately started inland to their own immeasurable gain. Country folk could be guided to their kin engaged in rural pursuits. The city-bred workers could be shielded from becoming victims of padrones — those cruel intermediate exploiters.

The trade unions deserve unlimited praise for their unwearied efforts to organize aliens, but no one agency alone can perform the stupendous task.

At present in the United States all hands suffer from our imperfect organization. We have only the earliest beginnings of co-operation of the Belgian type. We have nowhere any orderly distribution of immigrants in the interest of themselves or the rest of the wage-earn-

ers. Peasant girls, adapted to household work, whose help would be a godsend in every college town west of Pittsburgh and Buffalo, are allowed to crowd still farther the already overcrowded ranks of the needle workers, in the cities in which the girls disembark. They are permitted to press down the wages of salesclerks as soon as, in the public schools, they have acquired a smattering of English and seek the worst paying jobs.

Instead of crowding down, by exclusion from opportunity to work aliens who cannot, under present laws, be kept out of the country, the saving policy for all concerned is obviously that of enlisting the newcomers, instantly upon their landing, in the ranks of the organized proletariat.

For college women who are Socialists especially, this constructive task of welcoming the newcomers and organizing, for them and with them, their earliest experiences in the new country offers novelty, usefulness, and an immensely wide range of experience.

Socialism in America has suffered, and does suffer, from being doctrinaire in a degree which it has in great measure escaped in other countries. If now Socialists would seriously attack the task of Socializing the aliens, not by giving them tracts and lecturing them, but by meeting their varied human needs, the Socialist movement itself could not fail to profit enormously in numbers, in vitality, in the respect of the whole people.

Such a practical, nationwide Socialist movement would involve widespread, immediate remodeling of our schools in many states in the service of the alien adults;

A new land policy on the part of the state and nation, employing people on public works after the manner of New Zealand and Australia, and settling them on the land;

A new policy, of the same two-fold character, with regard to both employment and unemployment;

An immense extension of voluntary co-operation, not in the field of distribution and production of goods only, but far more in the distribution of people in our vast sparsely settled area.

It is in the regions afflicted with isolation that degeneration begins among the American stock, in the old New England rural regions, and in the lonely areas of the South. Millions of people will yet find homes and prosperity in this Republic in regions still waste because undeveloped for lack of population. But it is Socialists who must guide them; under Capitalist exploitation the needless sufferings of hundreds of thousands of immigrants are intolerable. And the appalling suffering that they by their very defencelessness in competitive industry unwittingly inflict upon people already here is also needless.

Since Presidents of all political parties have vetoed the policy of restricting immigration, the next step for Socialists is obviously to force the adoption of a rational policy of migration within our own borders, to promote the development of all resources, human resources first of all, to prevent the crowding of cities, and stunting of lives, by the present planless, brainless procedure.

Government Ships or No Ships

By Wm. Leavitt Stoddard

The main trouble with the Wilson Ship Purchase bill was, not that it was based on a wrong principle, but that the principle was advocated at an inopportune time, in a clumsy fashion, and without effective party team-work. Had the President desired to disclose to the country that the Democrats are against government ownership, he could not have chosen a better means than to press the

ship bill on Congress last winter. It has been stated on excellent authority that there were but twelve Democratic Senators who really favored the bill, the rest were more or less lazily for it because they had to be. Everyone knows why the Republicans were against it—for party reasons, and because it violated the principle of private ownership and possible private subsidy. The general public was made to believe that in buying ships at a time when the war was being waged in and around ships, we were buying a quarrel. No diplomatic reply forthcoming from Bryan on this point, the country remained convinced of the wisdom of keeping clear of possible rows. So the ship bill seems to be dead for some months at least.

President Wilson's plan was for a scheme of co-operation between the Government and private capital. He argued that inasmuch as private capital alone has failed to equip the United States with an adequate merchant marine, and that inasmuch as straight subsidy will never be permitted in this enlightened age, the only recourse was to some device such as that employed by Russia and Germany to provide bottoms for their national trade. The President's son-in-law, Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, was his chief advocate in this cause. At their task of securing this legislation they went in a highly unparliamentary fashion. They secured the reporting of their bill in both Houses practically without hearings or discussion. They used the characteristic methods of the machine boss who, believing that he has the votes, will not brook delay. They failed to appreciate the simple fact that in order to succeed by this means, an overwhelming popular sentiment is necessary, and their haste cut off the growth of such sentiment. They flirted with the anti-government ownership men by telling them that this was an emergency measure, and that after the Government had borne the first losses, it would turn the business over to private capital. This flirting failed to please either the anti-government ownership men or the government ownership men, and between the two stools the bill fell to the floor.

The one solid argument for the bill was that private capital had failed, and that the Government could do the trick. But when a party like the Democratic party is composed of men a majority of whom are against government ownership in general, it is not easy for it to urge government ownership in particular. True, the Democrats pointed with pride to the Panama Canal, the Alaska railroad, and the little government-owned steamship line operating between the States and the Canal Zone. Such pleadings, however, lacked enthusiasm, and fell from unconvinced lips. The real issue was government ownership, though none but the bill's opponents dared to say so.

In obstinately pressing this bill on Congress, Wilson caused the failure of other legislation embodying the same essential principle. For the first time in years there was a chance of conservation legislation—legislation for the government ownership and leasing-out of water power, grazing lands and mineral rights. Undoubtedly the country needs ships, but unquestionably it needs at this time to end the system of private graft in water power privileges and other natural resources whose exploitation as at present carried on is nationally wasteful and inefficient. Perhaps the President did not expect to get all his bills through. At any rate he did not, and all has been lost except the effect of some millions of words issued to the expectant air.

The Administration planned, at the adjournment of Congress, to revive the ship bill next autumn, and still hopes, aided by a developed public sentiment, to secure its passage. It is safe to predict that if the American merchant marine is to be built up at all, it will be built up by some such plan as that proposed by Wilson. When is another question.

The Internation

By Nicholas Kelley

We Socialists are united in our belief that the principal means of production and distribution must be owned collectively and used in the interest of all. We differ vastly as to what collectivity is to have the ownership. Shall it be the locality, the nation or the internation? We have not yet agreed. Neither are we agreed upon the means of control which shall insure that the property when collectively owned will be used for the benefit of all. The question is still open whether the control shall be in the governments of town, nation and internation, or whether it shall be in the workers of the respective industries. These are questions of organization. Although they remain unanswered they have been greatly discussed. But the greatest of them all, the manner of forming the internation, we have hitherto not discussed. This is the more remarkable when we consider that to Socialism it has been a postulate that there can be no conflict of interest between democratic nations, and an axiom that military states must be destroyed. Socialist effort in respect to international matters has been occupied rather with paralyzing the characteristic activities of military states than with creating an internation. A striking illustration of this has been the weight attached to the consideration of such purely paralyzing remedies for war as the general strike in belligerent states. When, however, the Balkan War upset the European balance of power, the destruction of that equilibrium cast into immediate danger the existence of every military state in Europe. The paralysis theory, which is contrary to Socialist theory in all other matters, at once proved itself false in respect to internationalism. The destruction of their military state by the superior arms of other military states was not the manner of progress sought by the Socialists of any nation, and therefore fight they must and fight they did.

The fighting of the European Socialists in the war has brought forth two opposing views among American Socialists. The most eminent expositors of these two views are Mr. Hillquit and Mr. Walling, for both of whom we have a particular respect and affection as devoted members of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. According to Mr. Hillquit, we must recognize that the development of a nation must come from within it and cannot be imposed from without. The Socialists are therefore right in fighting to maintain their respective nations in order to be able within them to work undisturbed for Socialism. He says that we must revise our Socialism to allow for national struggles. That is to say that the cause of Socialism, insofar as it has stood for extreme internationalism, has failed. According to Mr. Walling it is the Socialists who have failed the cause. Both views are correct. There must be both nationalism and internationalism. It has been America's great contribution to the world to show how nationalism and internationalism can exist together at the same time and the same place. It is now the duty of American Socialists to teach all Socialists the lesson which our country has taught us. We must demand the constitution of the internation with the preservation of the benefits of nationality.

It is the fashion among Socialists to withhold admiration of the constitution of the United States and of all written constitutions. Yet it is not to be forgotten that this constitution embodies the finest solution yet devised of the question of uniting nationalism and interna-

tionalism. There were before the framers of that instrument two problems. One was to create of the colonies, which at that time were hostile nations, an internation, preserving however the sovereignty of the respective parts; the other to erect a government for the internation thus created. The constitution has by amendment also entered the field of individual rights. It is in this respect that the criticism by Socialists is most severe. Of the relations created by it of the parts to each other and to the whole we have little to say. The time has now come when Socialists must open their eyes, appreciate the great lesson taught by the American constitution in internationalism and adopt those principles. We American Socialists must save the internationalism of Socialism. It is now menaced on the one hand theoretically insofar as we allow ourselves to believe that the present war has shown that Socialism must yield to considerations of nationalism; it is menaced on the other hand personally insofar as we allow ourselves to call traitors to the cause those hundreds of thousands of noble and devoted Socialists who have felt it necessary to take up arms for the defence of their homes and countries.

International Socialism can save itself and the peace of the world only by applying to the relation of the nations and states the same principles of organized co-operation which are the foundation of Socialist philosophy in all its parts. This means not the hampering of the activities of the existing military states, but the creation of a new being, the internation. The principles of such a creation are in our own Federal constitution. We must demand their application to the whole of Europe. The present Europe is based upon a theory of government by which the entire sovereignty of a certain territory, as of France, is represented in the national government of that territory. The governments of the other countries are then balanced against it. Under our constitution, however, the balance of power is achieved by a different principle. The respective States are not left with complete sovereignty to be balanced off against each other, but each State surrenders a part of its sovereignty to the central government of which it continues to form a part. The balance is thus achieved not by the whole weight of New York and its allies against the whole weight of California and its allies, but by the balance of the local interests of New York and the States similarly situated, acting through their local State governments, against the general interests of those same States as represented in the Federal government. Thus by the adoption of our constitution the forty-eight States which now compose the union were forever destroyed as military and diplomatic States and there was substituted for them, insofar as concerns their relation to each other, an internation, our American union, which decides disputes by legislation and by judicial decision.

Union Theological Seminary Supplement

War First

By Rev. Chas. P. Fagnani,
Professor of Literature

There is a bigger thing before the world to-day than Socialism, than the relations between Capital and Labor, than any other conceivable question, and that is the subject of War, or the relations of governments to one another. We must settle the war question first. It takes precedence of everything else. And the War question depends on Nationalism. A nation is a group whose relations to other similar groups are settled in the last analysis by war. War is a *national* function. To do away with war we must do away with isolated, self-regarding, self-assertive, individualistic, independent nationalism. And this is to be done by accelerating the rate of the already existing tendency toward integration or federation of nations into larger groups, and finally into one world-wide organism.

The existing national groups are all products of such integration of former smaller independent units; the United States, the Empire of Great Britain, the German Empire, Switzerland, Italy, etc., are commonplace examples. The former warring units which now compose the national groups no longer wage war with one another, they live together co-operatively in mutual dependence to their common advantage under the direction of the central government. We must push along this historic process. As it progresses wars will become more and more impossible and finally must cease altogether.

When we have got rid of war and not before shall we be in a position to deal adequately and successfully with questions of peace. This, of course, does not mean that nothing can be done in the way of improving international conditions until external political conditions have developed into World Federation. It only means that World Federation is the all-important matter which we should be striving for, supremely, and that nothing very far-reaching can be done in the way of social betterment so long as such an enormous output of wealth and energy is consumed in connection with preparation for war and the waging thereof.

THE POLICY AND SPIRIT OF THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY CHAPTER

By Laurens H. Seelye, Chairman
U. T. S. 1915.
B. A. Amherst, 1911,

A definition of the "Socialism" of the chapter would have to be exceedingly broad in order to include all that it means. We are not interested alone in the democratic ownership and operation of the tools of production and distribution. We are vitally interested in anyone who, or in anything which, ministers to the advancement of social policy and welfare. To that end we not only try to promote "an intelligent interest in Socialism," but also an interest in intelligent Socialism. Consequently, we have had a variety of speakers. The Rev. John Haynes Holmes spoke at the first meeting, presenting very clearly his idea of Socialism as a tremendous human

movement, with the economic as one of its aspects. Then we heard the experiences of ex-Mayor of Schenectady George R. Lunn. At the last meeting Jim Larkin told of his aims, of the work for unskilled labor which could be done by the minister. In a few weeks we hope to have Emma Goldman give us her views of social policy, coming at it from the individualistic and anarchistic point of view. We may also hear what the Single Tax advocates have to say. So it is evident that our chief interest is study rather than propaganda.

From the social point of view we cannot criticize a man for failing to have a partisan bias toward some particular form of social theory. If he be a "capitalist," that is his right. But in this age he cannot lay claim to any kind of intelligence if he unthinkingly accepts the present régime as final. When a certain man, who controls more capital than most men in this country, was on the witness-stand before the Industrial Relations Commission, the papers reported that he had to confess that in spite of his enormous capital and financial influence he had not made any considerable study of social and industrial policy. Probably that criticism of the Christian, which has the greatest weight, is not that he is a "capitalist," but that he fails to recognize and realize that he is facing and acting in social situations which demand the application to them of Christianity. Indifference, not aggressive partisanship, is the temptation, whether a man be parson, banker, or bootblack.

If I were to state any fundamental principles in which the members of this society rather generally believe, I should give three, but I should have to give them on my own authority alone. First, economic conditions do not produce moral and spiritual progress, but they may, and do, limit it. Second, words and personal influence, while facilitating the most direct short-cuts to moral and spiritual progress, are greatly aided, both in intensity and extension of power, by all the surrounding economic conditions. Third, Christianity is not only interested, and resides in, but is created by, human needs and personal values—a view which is in contrast with that one which makes its chief origin "supernatural" and its primary source biblical. This sums up in a rough-and-ready way what seem to me to be the point of view and the characteristics of our chapter.

The Church and the Social Order

By Evan W. Thomas, U. T. S. 1916,
B. A. Princeton, 1912

Not since the time of the Reformation has the Church been so severely criticized by both friend and foe as at present. In addition to the radical who can see nothing in the Church but the most utter failure, there are many liberal-minded thinkers within the Church itself who defend it as a necessary institution, but criticize it unsparingly for its failure to emphasize the Kingdom of God and the social aspect of Christianity. Thus we find Professor Peabody saying that the growth of the religion of Socialism is due to the failure of the Church to obey the social teachings of Jesus.

Whether he realized it or not, from the viewpoint of the Church bent upon ushering in the Kingdom of God, Professor Peabody in the above statement has given us the most convincing of arguments for changing the present social order. Though the Church would ap-

parently like to do so, it is nevertheless impossible to think of the Kingdom of God in terms apart from the social order; and the question immediately arises: *Can the Church progress, or even attempt successfully to obey the teachings of Jesus under the present social system?* We must remember that it is one thing to criticize the Church for its failure to obey the social teachings of Jesus, and another thing to show how this can be done under existing conditions.

In the first place let us look at the Church in its relations to the working class. At present the majority of this class are either hostile, or completely indifferent, to the Church. Is this not natural when we consider the facts? Great numbers of this class are too poor to support or conduct their own churches, with the result that these are furnished for them by charity. Practically none of the missions or institutional churches on the east side of New York are self-supporting, nor is it possible for them to be. This utterly destroys the democracy and freedom of the Church and makes it aristocratic and the agent of the privileged class, whether it wants to be or not. In addition to this, the living conditions and environment of the poor are so bad that the spiritual part of life is practically denied to them, despite the social service efforts of the Church. The writer has more than once had laborers confess to him that they went to church because of what the church did for them in the way of charity and finding them work. Where men lack the means of mere existence, the Church can do little or nothing for them spiritually.

Jesus taught a life of freedom, love, joy, and peace in the sense of freedom from care and worry—a life more abundant. We have only to look around us to see the complete failure of the Church to produce such a life among the masses to-day. Hence Professor Peabody can well say that the growth of the religion of Socialism is due to the failure of the Church to obey the social teachings of Jesus; for how can the Church obey such teachings under a social order that oppresses the many for the sake of the few? How dare the Church preach real life and freedom when hosts of men cannot be sure of their daily bread from one day to the other, and when they have neither the time nor capacity for the higher and more spiritual things of life? The Church can bring its spiritual message only when men first have the means of existence; and for this a new social order is necessary.

And now let us turn to the more privileged class and see whether the Church can obey the social teachings of Jesus and preach the Kingdom of God to any better effect here than among the very poor, if the present social order is accepted.

What, for example, is the Church to ask of the modern capitalist regarding the Kingdom? The preacher tells him to live in accordance with Christ's teachings. But what does such a statement mean? Is he to sell all that he has and give to the poor? That might be one way, for which we have good authority in the New Testament; but where is the man to-day, who believes that such action would be either practical or helpful in the long run to society? Again the Church tells him to conduct his life and business according to Jesus' teaching of "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." But many a man to-day has his money invested in places where he has no control over the way it is used; and still more important, where is the honest business man, who sincerely believes that business under our present social order can be conducted along the lines of the Golden Rule or the Sermon on the Mount? The man who tried it would fail inevitably because business is not conducted on the Golden Rule basis, and the individual must make his living under the system as it is. So once again we find the Church face to face with the

stone wall—our present capitalistic system, which does not permit obedience to the social teachings of Jesus.

From the standpoint of the one interested in the Kingdom of God, therefore, the most urgent duty of the Church at the present time is the changing of the social order. The Church might be a tremendous force in guiding the coming change and the overthrow of capitalism; but whether it will be or not is another question. In any case it can expect the approval of the earnest Socialist only in so far as it is able to work for this end.

Who Shall Judge?

By Lloyd L. Lorbeer, 1917,
B. S. Pomona, 1911

He's a thief!
In youth he missed a mother's hand
And feared a tyrant dad's command,
Which early forced him out of school
To earn his bread by street-gang rule.
In truth he tried to earn it right,
But need was strong and hunger might.
  Perhaps that man of Galilee
  Here too will say, "To-day, with me."
Lock him up, he's a thief!

He's a drunk!
In wealthy home his youth was spent,
On pleasure, fashion, club intent.
Deprived of work, they urged he dine,
Like all "good men" on ale and wine.
To stop he tried, his strength was sapped,
From home turned out, the climax capped!
  But hear we not that voice of yore,
  "Condemn? Not I. Go sin no more."
Kick him out, he's a drunk!

He's a fool!
'Tis true his father was a sot.
Hard work, abuse, his mother's lot.
Not his the chance to be well-born.
The wife felt blows that birth-day morn,
When cursed into the world he came,
His wits not there. Pray who's to blame?
  For shame to laugh! Have you forgot
  That one who said, "Forbid them not"?
Mock at him, he's a fool!

He's a bum!
A youth shut in, he longed to roam
And see the sights away from home.
He took a horse. State school his fate.
In tears he toiled; was taught to hate
All honest work. Meanwhile his plan
Grew ripe, far hill and town to scan.
  But was it not our Savior said,
  "I too lacked place to lay my head"?
Slam the door, he's a bum!

Yes, thief and drunk and fool and bum,
No doubt you sinned; but name us some
Who pray, "I'm glad I'm not as you,"
Who'll higher stand when God is through.
Yes, harken to that voice above,
"If home or raiment, hope or love,
Ye give to these my brothers least
Ye serve me best; come join my feast."

Three Jolts in the Study of Socialism

By Marion E. Hall, U. T. S. 1915,
B. A. Hillsdale, 1911

Let this be said for *thought*—it is the only prisoner that once jailed always escapes its prison. It comes to life when killed, frees itself from the cross where it has been nailed and illuminates the very pillories by which we had thought to crush it. And as so often happens, the means by which we would annihilate *thought,* become the organs of eloquent speech in its behalf. May I add my own to the many testimonies of the truth of this assertion? Three years ago I was teaching English in a government school in Japan. The school was "off the beaten paths" in an interior town and I had a good opportunity to live with the people in their homes and study their inner life, its thought and ways. It is characteristic of this people that when they wish to conceal knowledge of any kind the whole nation can become as dumb as a mummy. How true this is we well know from the experience reporters and war-correspondents had during their stay in Japan while the war was in progress with Russia. But it is equally as impossible to crush thought from the minds of the people once it has been let loose. Some three years ago the "Pinkertons" of the Emperor thought that they had pulled off a little act "behind the scenes" without the knowledge of the people, and from all that one learned in the papers one might have believed they had succeeded.

Returning to my inn one evening by steamer I noticed a number of groups of men talking excitedly on the upper deck. I wondered at the time but thought no more of the incident till I reached town. As I came into the entrance to the inn I saw my Japanese friends all in a group and in an agitated discussion. When they saw me they were inclined to stop the conversation, but as we were friends they let me join them. "Have you heard that four men were hung to-day?" "Why, what were they doing?" I asked. "They were talking *Socialism.*" "Socialists—who were they?" I wondered. "Well," I thought, "it was good enough for the rascals, of that I am sure. If they were of any importance my church would have taught me of them. My church didn't deal with them evidently." Later I learned from other friends that Japanese ministers of the Gospel of American education had their houses ransacked for literature dealing with this hated subject. Then I wondered. That was jolt number one!

Soon after this, in company with two other teachers, I was returning to America by way of the Siberian railroad. We were right in the very heart of Siberia when I heard that word again, and in such a way as I shall never forget. We had stopped over night in Irkutsk, the great prison centre, and that evening while riding about town in a droshky, the driver leaned back and pointing to a dismal-looking place said: "In those walls are student Socialists," and then with a twinkle in his eyes, for the rascal, I judged, was in sympathy with them himself, he added, "They disagreed with the way things are being run." "Let me out of Russia," thought I, "and I will find out who these folks are." But even jolt number two was not sufficient.

Later I entered Union Theological Seminary and was fortunate enough to have a little church just outside New York City. Strange to say, almost the first instruction I got from a good old deacon was this: "We want the Gospel preached here and not Socialism. The last fellow we had here nosed into our

private affairs altogether too much." But it was enough to make me think. If this pious old deacon was worried over Socialism in its relation to his inner private life, I ought to know how to keep him stirred up. So I studied. All that Socialism now means to me I cannot here state; but at least I can say this, that I have not come to feel I am quite ready for the gallows, or for a trip to Siberia. In fact I feel quite respectable, quite Christian, still.

Socialism and Universal Peace

By Sterling P. Lamprecht, U. T. S., 1915.
B. A. Williams, 1911

There is in this country to-day an eager and sincere demand that measures be taken towards securing universal peace. Socialism does not stand alone in demanding that wars cease. It is easy, however, to protest against war; but it is difficult to find a means whereby the protest can be made effective. Yet history gives us at least two examples of civilizations which became more or less permanently peaceful. A comparison of these two examples—China and Rome—has much to teach us to-day.

China in very early times was thoroughly warlike. But with the rise and spread of Confucianism the ideal of peace arose. Princes and states became peaceful because it was the only practical thing to do. The earlier classical books, e. g., the "Shoo-King," narrate that the people flocked into the realms of those rulers who kept at peace, thus forcing the other rulers to carry out a similar standard of conduct. The power of example was very great; and in that way wars became of ever less extent and less frequency. By the time of Mencius, the great Confucian teacher of the third century B. C., the ideal of peace was widely adopted and realized. He strengthened it by appealing to the humanitarian principle of universal sympathy for all men, and made his contemporaries realize that only a man who was lacking in imagination could induce himself to wage war. Territory should never be annexed except with the consent of the inhabitants. "Though by a single battle you should subdue Tse and get possession of Nanyan, the thing ought not to be done." The preservation of peace was of fundamental importance; and to it all other purposes should be subordinated.

Rome, like China, was also very warlike in the early part of her history. But under the empire, both in the time of Augustus and in the time of the Antonines, a state of such inclusive and universal extent was erected that war largely ceased, and the complete abolition of all warfare was shadowed forth. Such a condition of affairs was, however,, very unstable. The granting of citizenship to all the races within the empire, the application of the Stoic ideals of brotherhood to methods of government, the establishment of impartial courts of justice, brought about peace and quiet within the borders of the Roman domain, but the barbarians without were yet to be reckoned with. The tribes which pressed on the frontiers prevented even Marcus Aurelius from carrying out the lofty ideals which he set forth so beautifully in his "Meditations."

The contrast between the methods for securing peace which were adopted in China and Rome is instructive. It really is a contrast between the transformation of character by an inner ideal and the alleviation of difficulties by an external organization. China gained a peaceful

civilization because her people believed in it; Rome, because she conquered and incorporated into her own empire those nations which might otherwise have been her enemies. China was dominated by a moral purpose; Rome, by a practical political expediency. China attained her goal by conformity to a spiritual principle; Rome, by striking down all obstacles to her will. China accomplished her end by the expression of the humanity within her; Rome, by the repression of the humanity about her. It is significant that whereas Rome has lost her empire and herself as well, China still remains largely intact. Of course China is far from being in an enviable condition, but her inefficiency and backward civilization are due, not to her allegiance to the ideal of peace, but to her failure to adopt and carry out more ideals. Even as it is, China has taught a population larger than that of all Europe to live together in peace, and has absorbed her conquerors and trained them in her own peaceful ideals. Thus an ideal, a moral principle, has proved of more practical power than an external organization.

Socialist theory teaches that what China has proved to be true in the course of history is worth following out to-day. Peace must come in our own age by means of the ideal of the solidarity of all men in their common brotherhood. External structures are of no inherent value. The method which Rome used, namely, the setting up of an inclusive empire, would be impossible to-day, as the present war shows; for the principle of the right of a nation to a separate national existence is one which can never again be ignored with impunity. Other outward contrivances as well — the Hague tribunal, arbitration treaties, agreements concerning the limitation of armaments, the creation of an international police force—all these are of slight or no significance except in so far as they express a popular conviction. Behind these schemes there must be an ideal. Behind the external form there must be the inner motive. Only to the extent that men believe in the practical importance of universal human brotherhood will any of these organizations be effective. No machine runs by itself, and the only fuel by means of which we may run the international peace machine is a passionate faith in the moral principle that war is wrong and that national hatreds must give way to a great international friendship.

Thus in Socialism may be seen to-day the great motive power for the attainment of universal peace. Of course many expressions of Socialism are themselves unworthy—being mechanical, sordidly materialistic, anti-spiritual, anti-religious. But in so far as Socialism is intelligent, it is always religious. It finds in the great ideals of ethics the real justification of its program. Peace must come, not because men would then develop greater prosperity and greater material resources, but because all men are of one kindred. Socialism, properly conceived, is not an attempt to grasp more wealth. Rather it is the longing to enforce in all departments of life the rules of a high morality, to bring to pass in concrete expression the longings of men's hearts for brotherhood, to carry out in every-day life the deep sympathies and social impulses which are the most fundamental elements in human nature. Through a spiritual form of Socialism we may hope, then, to bring in the reign of universal peace.

REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE HARBOR. By Ernest Poole. N. Y.: The Macmillan Co. 1915. $1.40.

Ernest Poole, in giving us "The Harbor," has made a real contribution to literature as well as to the radical movement. It is not always easy to do both. Usually when a radical tries to get his radicalism "across" by way of a novel, he turns out a tract or a propaganda leaflet which, of course, never can be as good propaganda as an enthralling novel which embodies a deep and radical vision of life. In this country a number of writers have tried to make contributions in the field of fiction that would spell art as well as propaganda. A few have succeeded. And the author of "The Harbor" has succeeded best of all.

At this writing I hear the book has gone into its sixth edition. It's the "best seller" evidently. But this time that means nothing against the book but rather something in favor of the public. Usually when we hear the term "best seller," a picture arises in our minds of very silly young girls (50,000 of them!) reading some very silly young novel. But in this case it signifies that fifty or sixty, or more, thousand earnest, thinking men and women are hungrily devouring a book that means something to them and "means intensely."

The story is told in the first person. "Billy" tells his own story—"Billy" who lived in Brooklyn in sight of the harbor, and whose father had to do with "ships and seas" and things. Billy gives you a thrilling, gripping, fascinating and frequently throat-contracting insight into his life and thought from the time he was seven until he is quite completely a man with a man's vision. He unfolds that life and the life of those about him in rapid, almost reportorial, but always sure, illuminating strokes. One is compelled to bring to the book from the very first to the last word that same intense personal interest that one does to a long looked-for letter from home, crowded with news of loved ones. But it is a big story, told in a big, swiftly-sweeping, masterful way, now taking you into the struggling, growing, changing city, now into the struggling, growing, changing soul of the man.

From the time Billy, aged seven, sits in the family pew listening to a sermon by Henry Ward Beecher and having that wonderful old preacher in mind, contemptuously thinks, "You chump!"; on to his first venture down to the harbor where he meets the "kid" who lived "the most wonderful life in the world" because his mother let him alone and he could go anywhere he liked, day or night; on to his college days when he meets "J. K.," the fellow who had come last to college with a deep conviction that "things in this country are one big mess with the constitution sitting on top"; "J. K." who says of compulsory "Chapel," "Broad, isn't it, scientific to yank a man out of bed every morning, throw him into his seat in Chapel, and tell him 'There, this is what you believe. Be good now, take your little dose and then you can go to breakfast.'" "J. K." who turns up later in Paris when Billy is studying to be another Guy de Maupassant, and afterwards, from time to time, when Billy, home again, is in danger of settling down to a comfortable philosophy—the philosophy of the "Comfortables"—even though he is seeking, seeking, ever seeking the truth—and saves Billy from aligning himself on the "wrong side"; on through his worship of the god, Efficiency; on to——

But the rest would be "telling," and it won't "do" to tell; for I'm hoping that

every college man and woman who reads this will some time read the book. Though "The Harbor" is the kind of book that will bear reading despite knowledge of its main outline, yet I like to leave the rest for the reader to discover—the dear sweet love-story, the bitter struggle along the harbor and the "long, long thoughts" one's left with as one closes the book on the strangely beautiful "finis."

ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

OUR DISHONEST CONSTITUTION.
By Allan L. Benson. N. Y.: Huebsch.

In this brief essay, Mr. Benson has presented what he considers the most significant of the facts regarding the constitution contained in Professor Beard's "Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States." He has supplemented these with a few drawn from Farrand's "Framing of the Constitution."

Mr. Benson's thought has doubtless been to secure for the facts presented a wider circulation than has been possible in the bulky and expensive form and somewhat academic style of Mr. Beard's book. It is to be doubted, however, whether he will have any considerable success in this direction. The book is too superficial to be stimulating, and too plainly partisan to be convincing. In his condensation of Beard's biographical account of the "Fathers" for example, Mr. Benson tells us about one of them only that he "was born rich and married richer. He was as much interested in the working class as a dog is interested in a rabbit—and in much the same way." One need not be possessed of an abounding reverence for the "Fathers" to feel that this is futile balderdash.

In his discussion of the economic interests of the framers, Mr. Benson lays much greater stress than did Mr. Beard upon the interests of those of the framers who held the depreciated continental securities, which, under the constitution, were to be assumed by the new government at par. Mr. Benson, in fact, confines himself almost exclusively to this element of economic interest. Yet it is precisely here that Mr. Beard's researches have been most severely criticised. It has been pointed out by a scholar of no small note that in the evidence presented by Mr. Beard, which is drawn entirely from records of the offices which redeemed the old securities after the constitution had been established, there is nothing to prove that the members of the Constitutional convention there listed held any securities at the time of the convention; that even if some or all of them did so hold, the total amount of their holdings, on Mr. Beard's own figures, was relatively insignificant; and that some of the largest holders were violent opponents of the proposed constitution. None of these criticisms is at all conclusive, but they demand attention in any discussion of the subject, and Mr. Beard himself, should he publish any further or revised studies in this direction, will doubtless notice them. Mr. Benson, however, makes no mention of any of these points. His intellectual honesty can, therefore, be defended only at the expense of his knowledge of the literature of the subject he professes to present.

In his two chapters dealing with constitutional theory, Mr. Benson is more happy. He has given little, however, that has not already been presented, perhaps more forcefully, in J. Allen Smith's "The Spirit of American Government."

Mr. Benson has included as a sort of appendix to his discussion of "Our Dishonest Constitution" four magazine articles which he has published within the last few years — "The Press and the Tariff," "War and the Rothschilds," "Repudiate All War Debts," and "Henry Ford's Bombshell." The articles are in his usual effective style and make interesting reading; but the reader who, ignorant of their origin, is introduced to

them by the statement (intended by the author to supply the link between them and the book proper) that they treat "certain great matters of governmental policy and public habit that would have produced bad government if performed under the best constitution" is likely to be disappointed by their lack of connection or completeness.

LOUIS MAYERS, Ph.D.

THE MODERN CITY AND ITS PROBLEMS. By Frederic C. Howe, Ph.D. N. Y.: Scribner. $1.50.

Dr. Howe's new book is perhaps most valuable for its insistent reiteration that the narrowness of our conception of city functions is our greatest curse. Clearly showing the new responsibilities which the rise of the modern city creates, he goes on to indicate how in one problem after another an archaic notion of the community's duty is at the bottom of municipal ills. He treats most specifically the disadvantages of state interference, especially in the restriction of the borrowing power and the limitations of city charters, wherein only those rights which are granted are allowed. The wealth of material in his other volumes is liberally drawn upon to show how backward are our American cities in comparison with those of the continent. The practical wisdom of the municipal operation of traction, power, dockage, slaughtering, marketing, land-holding and housing is amply and simply set forth.

The confident point of view from which the book is written is stimulating. The author has always been a firm believer in the city as the hope of democracy, and his assurance of the goodly days into which American cities shall come is based on substantial achievement abroad and not on our absurd, blithe American optimism.

On the other hand it is hard to understand from the temper and material of this volume what relation the people have to the things which are to be done. In his preface, the writer dissents "from the opinion that the trouble with the American city is with the American people." He nowhere gives adequate recognition to that greatest of all problems that have to do with the modern city; namely, the ways and means of enlisting the rank and file of common men and women in an effective and enlightened movement to extend municipal activities. The structural, or as he calls it, "the institutional," problems are indeed gigantic, but there is no royal road to their solution short of a much more universal and constant attention being directed to them. It may be unfair to criticise this very informing book for not doing something it did not try to do. But it certainly leaves a very partial impression with the reader in that it gives so little recognition to the human aspects.

Above all else, American cities wait upon a quickened electorate, upon a responsible, alert and interested citizenship, to bring to pass those measures and forms of organization which will insure really decent and habitable municipalities.

ORDWAY TEAD.

WHY THE CAPITALIST? A Refutation of the Doctrines Prevailing in Conventional Political Economy. By Frederick Haller. Published by the Author, 210 Pearl St., Buffalo, N. Y.

The 277 pages of this book do not offer a direct answer to the question on its red cover. The author attempts rather to describe the functioning of capital and the predatory nature of the capitalist's activities in such a manner as to leave men no excuse for continuing to tolerate the capitalist. As often happens, the writer, seeking to expose a demonstrable though not obvious truth, relies not on circumstantial evidence but on explicatory argument of his own devising. While his conclusions are such as many are prepared, by general obser-

vation, to concur in, his reasons are received on their own merits merely. Mr. Haller chooses to refute the claims of capital on production by means of deductions from natural laws, generalizations upon the Robinson Crusoe type of economic instances and a recondite renouncing of exploiters and exploited. This reasoning, although it fills the first hundred pages, is hardly comprehensive enough for its stated purpose. The remainder of the book is generalization on various phases of exploitation. There is no explicit discrimination between capital and the capitalist. In many places consistency must be imparted by a sympathetic reading. But one capable of so complementing the actual text will find little new there. No one, however, could read it and continue to take for granted the economic justice of the *status quo* or fail to put, in some form, the question, "Why the Capitalist?"

A. S. Cheyney.

THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION OF TO-DAY. By James T. Shotwell, Ph.D. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913. $1.10.

One of the most important contributions in recent years to the scientific analysis of religion is supplied by this volume. It gives to the public in printed form a number of lectures delivered to a smaller public at Amherst College on the William Brewster Clark Foundation. Though making no pretence to being an exhaustive treatise, this small book ranges over the whole field of the scientific discussion of religion and supplies a clearly worked out hypothesis for a more elaborate treatment of the subject. Supported by a careful consideration of all the work previously done in the same field by scholars such as Fraser, Tylor, R. R. Harett, and those brilliant investigators of the school of Durkheim, M.M. Hubert and Mauss, this hypothesis has been worked over in the author's mind and tested carefully with psychological and historical material until it supplies us with a well-rounded and original conception of the history, nature and function of religion.

Religion, so long the object of blind partisanship and almost equally blind attack, has only within the last few decades been brought within the scope of scientific examination and placed under the miscroscope along with the amoeba or the amphioxus. Whether this cold, objective observation will cure or kill its object is another question. But there it is, "not a problem in theology, but in the social sciences; in anthropology, psychology, sociology and history."

We find ourselves in such an examination face to face with an extraordinary transformation which began only recently and is going on to-day. "We are in the midst of a religious revolution! The 'old régime' of immemorial belief and custom is vanishing before our eyes. Faiths so old that they come to us from the prehistoric world are yielding to the discoveries of yesterday. Institutions that have embodied these faiths and held the allegiance of the civilized world are now stumbling to pieces or transforming themselves wherever the new forces of the revolution touch and penetrate. . . . Reason and science, which are our ideals, however irrational and unscientific we are, are changing the frontiers of thought." This religious revolution can be compared in its suddenness and vastness only with the industrial revolution which is in some way its cause and complement. But it is only the "swifter phase of an age-long movement," for the whole "history of civilization is a history of secularization." In this process "society is assuming control of itself, making its own the world it once shared with superstition, facing undaunted the things of its former fears, and so carving out for itself,

from the realm of mystery in which it lies, a sphere of unhampered action and a field of independent thought."

Only when we have accustomed ourselves as far as possible to "think savage" and to realize the powerful role which religion plays in savage society are we able to appreciate to what extent the process of social evolution has narrowed the field of religion. The horizon of primitive religion, including in its sweep almost the whole activities of the social mind as of the individual mind, law, art, politics, medicine, economics, sex has been gradually limited until to-day we find these great fields of human activity almost completely divorced from religion.

The religious revolution now "stands before us in all its red Jacobinism," but may it not, perhaps, out of the very heart of its destructive forces offer some such inspiration "as does the red flag of Socialism to the workers, while to the shuddering bourgeois it stands as the grizzly omen of fear and death."

Every sentence of this book is full of scholarship, and, better still, of wisdom, and the whole is clothed in a literary garb the elegance and distinction of which must make the theme palatable even to the unscientific reader. As a sociological and psychological analysis of institutions and phenomena which have had an enormous influence over the development of social institutions as we find them to-day, this discussion deserves the careful attention of every student of society and especially of that complacent radical who has solved the whole problem to his own satisfaction with Voltaire's *"Ecrasez l'infame!"*

JULIET STUART POYNTZ.

SOCIAL SANITY. A Preface to the Book of Social Progress, by Scott Nearing, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. New York, Moffat, Yard and Co., 1913. 260 pp. $1.25.

As a criticism of capitalism "Social Sanity" is not only a book with a useful purpose, but one that is certain to produce some valuable results. The unusual brilliancy of its style, the captivating sincerity of the author make a powerful appeal. Though from a literary point of view in an entirely different class from the author's "Financing the Wage Earner's Family," both works have one definite feature in common—that they are calculated to make a strong appeal to a certain class of readers. One might say that they seem to have been written specially for the youthful readers of *The Intercollegiate Socialist*—the young men and women of our higher institutions of learning, who have but a very slight knowledge of the life of the masses, and who are getting their first insight into social conditions.

If, however, the purpose of the book was a larger and deeper one, if it was an effort to create a new system of social philosophy (and justifications for such a suspicion are scattered throughout the book), then the book has signally failed. The very basis of criticism of capitalism, from the point of view of social logic, its indictment on the count that it is insane (illogical) relegates the social philosophy of the author at least a century back. It is the point of view of utopian Socialism pure and simple. An historical epoch that has lasted for centuries cannot be considered as simply a pathological fault, especially since it has arisen out of other historical epochs equally insane from the point of view of the author's fine sense of social justice, and has, moreover, been responsible for that measure of technical progress, which makes a "sane ideal of distribution" possible. In so far as the book will be helpful in stimulating the sense of social discontent, in awakening the chord of social service, it is an extremely useful book. But it makes no

effort to answer the questions "why" and "how"—why the "insane" system has arisen and "how" it may be destroyed. In so far as the answer is "by saner social effort for the welfare of the exploited"—it is but a popularization of Lester Ward's theories as developed in "Pure" and "Applied Sociology."

Suum cuique. Professor Scott Nearing has not yet succeeded in establishing himself as a creative social thinker. But as a popularizer and in the best sense of the word a preacher to the educated young, he has few peers in this country

DR. I. M. RUBINOW.

"THE SOCIALIST ARGUMENT." By Charles C. Hitchcock. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 25 cents.

At this late date in the Socialist movement, it seems a little odd to get a new book whose purpose is merely to expound and explain Socialism. But a little thought will see the necessity of rewriting those fundamentals that veteran Socialists forgot decades ago.

Charles C. Hitchcock is a merchant of Ware, Mass., 67 years old, who, according to Dr. Roland R. Sawyer, who wrote the "Introductory Note," has organized a department store with the highest degree of efficiency. The substance of the book was delivered as a series of talks at a Socialist study class in Ware. There is no pretense at originality. Hitchcock's idea is to restate Socialism in new terms, the Socialism of "Merrie England," the Socialism of Gronlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth."

It is useless to contend that the work is written with the snappy touch that made Blatchford the premier Socialist pamphleteer of the English-speaking world. But in general, the Socialism is sound; it does not attempt to plot out a Utopia, like Bellamy; the criticism of Capitalism is good, and the objections to Socialism are well answered.

In one respect, Mr. Hitchcock appears to be Utopian. "Socialism is making rapid headway, and is the only theory of society that meets with growing favor. If Socialism is not practical, we call upon its critics to present a plan for society which is practical." Socialism is not the "best" state of society that Socialists can think of. Socialists believe that it is the natural, inevitable, inexorable outgrowth of Capitalism, and that it will come, whether better or worse than Capitalism. But aside from that, the book is a very good elementary presentation of the Socialist theory, and is a welcome addition to the ever-growing library of propaganda works.

WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM.

THE MECHANICS OF SOCIALISM. By James Mackaye. The Boston Fabian Series, No. 1. The Fabian Club, 12 Otis Place, Boston. 16 pp. 10 cents.

This tract is the first one issued by the Boston Fabian Club, an organization founded in 1913 with the aim "to promote a Socialist organization of society through the medium of education." It is written to meet the fact that there are few who balk at the fundamental theory of Socialism but rather at the mechanical difficulties involved in its application. It is therefore a venture in the utopian field and presents "a rough and provisional sketch of one, out of many, possible variations of the mechanism of a co-operative commonwealth."

It outlines clearly and thoroughly the case for the public ownership and operation of all great public industries, with the gradual liberation of the people, both as consumers and producers, by a well-considered program of administrative reforms ranging from vocational education and civil service tests to the distribution of annual surpluses between consumer and producer. This it is claimed would act as

automatically as competition, following the same general laws of supply and demand, but with the element of chance eliminated. The plan makes no appeal to altruistic sentiment, but aims at a "unity of interest, not alone between all classes of labor, but between consumer and producer; not by abolishing self-interest, but by changing its incidence."

It is noteworthy that while the treatise outlines clearly the plan of "nationalized industry," industry owned and operated by the political social structure, any change in the mechanism of politics plays no part whatever in its program.

In the Colleges

NEW ENGLAND STATES

Ordway Tead of the NEW ENGLAND COMMITTEE addressed the Socialist Party Local in Winchester on "Constructive Socialism" on February 23d and on March 14th spoke before the forum at Medway on "What Is Modern Socialism?" The Committee is planning to have an alumni supper in the middle of April. The WESLEYAN Chapter has held interesting meetings on "Mexico," "German Socialism," and "Child Labor" with A. I. Prince, T. M. Clark, and Dr. Clopper as speakers. Jane Addams and David Starr Jordan will address the Chapter some time in the near future. The SPRINGFIELD Y. M. C. A. COLLEGE Chapter reports good meetings. In January Mr. C. A. Robinson, Member of the City Charter Revision Committee, addressed the Chapter on "The Charter Revision and the Socialists"; Mr. Ordway Tead of the New England Committee spoke on "Socialism and the Church" and in February Dr. George R. Lunn addressed the Chapter on "Socialists and the War" and "What Socialism Did for Schenectady" before an audience of 250—almost the entire student body. YALE Chapter reports a meeting with Reverend John A. Ryan on "The Catholic Church and Radical Social Movements" with an attendance of 500; meetings with Robert A. Woods, on "The Sure Road to a Democratic Social Order" and "Socialism and Personality" by Prof. Vida D. Scudder. Dr. George R. Lunn addressed the CLARK COLLEGE Chapter on "Socialism and the City." The secretary writes: "A college congress is held weekly and members of the Socialist Club represent the Socialist Party therein. Many important current issues are brought forth which are either defended or refuted. Government ownership of the means of communication, universal suffrage, and other bills which are in accord with the Socialistic platform are brought forth by members of the Socialist Club."

MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

The COLUMBIA Chapter reports good activity. Algernon Lee addressed the Chapter on "Socialism and the War" with an attendance of 250; Jessie W. Hughan on "Marxian Theories"; Wm. English Walling on "Socialism and Progressivism"; George R. Lunn on "What Is Socialism?", attendance from 150 to 200; Walter Lippmann on "Economics of Enterprise," attendance 100. The Chapter is planning a get-acquainted-meeting between Columbia, Barnard and Union Theological Seminary. Chapter luncheons are now being held. The UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY Chapter reports that it held meetings with George R. Lunn, who spoke about his work as mayor in Schenectady and Jim Larkin who spoke on "Socialism and the Working Classes." "Jim Larkin's meeting was particularly enthusiastic, the fellows keeping him until almost midnight," writes the secretary. The C. C. N. Y. reports meetings on "Socialism and Sociology," "Socialism and Selfishness," and "Cause and Cure of Crime" with Dr. Edward King, Sol. Fieldman, and Mrs. A. D. Martin of the Public Safety Commission of Chicago as speakers. Bouck White will address the Chapter on "Socialism and Religion" in April. "Every man in college is looking forward to that date," writes the secretary. "Our society is now very wide-spread because of the activities of the men in the way of advertising. It is among the societies of the first rank in the college." The GEORGE WASHINGTON Chapter held interesting meetings on "Socialism," "The Abolition of Poverty," "A Nation of Fatherless Children," "The Problem of the Unemployed" with Prof. W. M. Coleman, Colonel H. Martin Williams Mr. J. K. White, Prof. H. C. Kirk and Miss Mary Farmer as speakers. "The Intercollegiate Socialist Society at HOWARD does not exist as an independent organization, but is connected with the Social Science Club. The public meetings have been of much interest as the speakers have given an opportunity for questions after their addresses," writes the secretary of that Chapter. Paul H. Douglas, Charles Edward Russell, Harry W. Laidler, and Wm. English Walling addressed the group. One meeting had an attendance of 300 and another 600.

MIDDLE WESTERN STATES

The UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH reports considerable activity. Meetings were held with

Isador Saddoff, Bouck White, C. K. Harvey, Dr. F. Tyson and Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes as speakers. Two of the meetings were held in conjunction with the CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY Chapter. Future meetings are planned with Dr. Roswell H. Johnson, Dr. Arthur J. Todd and Dr. Rasschen as lecturers. Interesting meetings were held by the VALPARAISO Chapter at which May Wood Simons and Harry W. Laidler spoke. A debate was held between Arthur M. Lewis and Robert H. Moore with an attendance of 400. The UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS Chapter was addressed by Llewellyn Jones of the Chicago *Tribune* and Harry W. Laidler. Mr. Jones' lecture on "The Social Ideals of Bernard Shaw" was attended by 150. JOHN MARSHALL LAW writes, "It is almost impossible to do anything because of lack of time. We simply keep the organization intact for the purpose of having one more Chapter, for whatever moral value (as against actual value) it may have." Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes addressed the TEMPLE UNIVERSITY Chapter in March on "What the Socialists Want and Why They Want it."

ALUMNI CHAPTERS

The BUFFALO Alumni Chapter was addressed by John Spargo on "The Moral Value of Class Consciousness," Anna Maley on "Unemployment and Socialism," and Martin Heisler on "The Co-operative Store in Buffalo." The meetings were well attended. "We are going to greatly enlarge the activities of the CLEVELAND Alumni Chapter," writes the secretary. "It is our plan to take an active part in the community as representatives of the I. S. S." Interesting meetings were held with Alfred F. Bosch, Harry W. Laidler and a dinner with Rose Pastor Stokes as speakers. Harry W. Laidler addressed the CHICAGO Alumni Chapter in March on "The City of the Future." The secretary writes, "The Chapter was largely reorganized at this meeting. A new executive board of ten members was elected, with power to add to their number and to elect the officers of the Chapter from among their number. They are already at work, trying to secure new members and plan future meetings. Seven or eight new members joined as a direct result of the meeting." The FRESNO Alumni Chapter extensively discussed "Pay Day" at their meetings. "The War in Europe" and "Progress" were also among the subjects discussed. Mrs. Le Moyne Livingston addressed the group on "Moving Pictures for the Betterment of Society," Mr. R. W. Borst spoke on "The Class Struggle," G. H. Bardsley on "The Relation of Biology to Sociology," and Mr. T. Clayton on "Work of Relief Committee in Fresno." George R. Lunn spoke on "Socialism and the City" before the SPRINGFIELD Alumni group with an attendance of about 200. Other meetings have been the study class together with numbers from American International College, who are not allowed to form a Chapter of their own. "We have found much discouragement in working up meetings because of general pessimism about the outlook of Socialism and lack of funds everywhere, all laid at the door of the European War," writes the secretary of Springfield. William English Walling, Gibson Gardner, and Florence Kelley addressed the WASHINGTON Alumni Chapter. Mr. Walling's meeting on "War: Economic Causes" was attended by 260 and Mrs. Kelley's on "Socialism and Minimum Wage Legislation" by 100. The WILKES-BARRE Chapter attended a lecture by Fred Warren under the auspices of the County Local. The Chapter also listened to Rev. Irwin St. John Tucker on "The Religion of a Socialist" and "The Socialist Commonwealth." The secretary of the group writes, "Our meetings are increasingly interesting to ourselves and to those who come as guests and people are asking to be invited to them. Mr. Tucker's lecture made a profound impression upon the community. To some in the audience it was their first introduction to Socialism. Thirty subscribed at the meeting for *The Christian Socialist* and they included repre-

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sentatives from eight neighboring towns. Fifty I. S. S. magazines were distributed and five subscriptions were taken. The press gave us a good report of the Tucker lecture and in the reading notices beforehand we were able to print articles describing the purpose, history and present status of the I. S. S. On March 16, Mrs. Stokes is coming under the auspices of the Local. People seem eager to hear her and we anticipate for her the largest of these three Socialist gatherings."

Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes started March 15 on a lecture tour of Pennsylvania and Ohio. She spoke at Temple University and University of Pennsylvania, then at Wilkes-Barré, where from 800 to 1000 listened for an hour and asked questions for another hour. An influential citizen was overheard to say: "Well, Mrs. Stokes has made a dent in Wilkes-Barré, all right." At the State College an audience of about 800 manifested the most intense interest and Mrs. Stokes was urged to come again to address special classes in economics, finance, etc. Unfortunately, after an excellent meeting of 300 at the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, she was taken ill and obliged to abandon her trip which had been scheduled to last until March 26th. In those few days she carried to thousands the message of Socialism which came, said one newspaper, as "a revelation to most of the audience."

As the magazine goes to press, Mr. Laidler is in the midst of an exceedingly successful transcontinental trip among the colleges of the country. After leaving Rochester, N. Y., on February 24th, where he addressed a group in that city, the organizing secretary spoke before five classes in the Department of Political Science at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, in the University Chapel under the auspices of the Cleveland Peace Society and the Woman's Peace Party, before the Cleveland Alumni Chapter, I. S. S., and the Socialist Party. At Oberlin he addressed the college body at Chapel exercises, the Cosmopolitan Club, the Faculty Club, and two of Prof. Miller's sociology classes. At the University of Michigan, he lectured before Professor Sellar's class in Socialism as well as before a student group of the Presbyterian Chapel, at Albion before the combined classes of Professors Carlton and Zedler as well as in college chapel, at the University of Illinois before a class in Socialism and at a public meeting under the auspices of the I. S. S. Chapter; in Valparaiso, before 500 students in two gatherings under the Chapter's auspices and in Northwestern before Professor Deibler's class in Labor Problems and an elementary economics class as well as under the auspices of the College Y. M. C. A.

In Chicago an address was given at a dinner of the Chicago Alumni Chapter. Meetings followed at the Universities of Chicago, Wisconsin, Hamline and Minnesota under the auspices of their respective I. S. S. Chapters. Mr. Laidler was also the guest of the International Polity Club in the last-named University.

In Fargo about 700 listened to Mr. Laidler in the Grand Theatre of that city and some 300 in the Convocation exercises at Fargo Agricultural College. At the University of North Dakota, lectures were given before the classes of Professors Boyle, Gellett and Johnson.

Mr. Laidler, during his trip, organized strong chapters at Oberlin and Albion and smaller organizations at Northwestern and Fargo Agricultural College. He reorganized the alumni Chapters at Cleveland and Chicago, as well as at the Universities of Michigan and Chicago, while several students promised later to organize at Western Reserve and the University of North Dakota.

On leaving North Dakota he had lectured before no less than 3500 college students and 1100 others, had spoken before two college chapel exercises and 14 college classes. At last reports had lectured at Missoula, Montana, and was on his way to Seattle, Washington.

After several years of interest in the study of Socialism among the students of Vassar College and the desire to form a Chapter, the Faculty has just granted permission. Application for a charter of affiliation with the I. S. S. has accordingly been made and granted. It bears by far the largest number of charter members ever enrolled, being 86, including members of the Faculty, seven of the *Miscellany* staff, and many others prominent in college life, among them Ruth Nash, the Commencement orator. Here's to good old Vassar!

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AN INTERESTING LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Cincinnati, Ohio, March 22d, 1915.

DEAR MADAM:

As a member of the Faculty of the University of Cincinnati and as one who is opposed to Socialism, I desire to express to you my deep regret that your address on that subject in this city was not given to the University.

This regret is due, in part to the high regard I entertain for all who, like yourself, are honestly striving for the uplift of humanity, in part to my loyalty to academic freedom, and in part to my conviction that those who stand in the way of the freest discussion of Socialism and kindred subjects make more Socialists than its advocates and certainly more than my efforts can unmake.

Very respectfully yours,

FREDERICK C. HICKS,

Professor of Economics.

Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes.

The Editor wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Caro Lloyd as well as other members of the Magazine Committee for their able assistance in the preparation of this issue of *The Intercollegiate Socialist.*

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